

An Old Cavalier turned a New Courtier.
Being a suppressed Letter to a Member of Par-
liament Retrived.



SIR,

THe Horror & Amazement every thinking man must fall under, in his Reflections on the confusion & consternation the Kingdom of *England* was reduced to, upon the King's being necessitated to withdraw himself in *January* 1688. is certainly unexpressible, No age having produced so sudden a charge from a Regular Government to an uncontrouled Liberty, and *Anarchy*. An Ominous preface of the dissolution of our ancient Hereditary Monarchy, and the inevitable ruine and fatallity following on it.

Yet the astonishment will be heightned by a due consideration of the unparalleled vilany, and unnatural ingratitude of the chief Actors in it; and of the Scandalous, false, and malicious Insinuation, and Contrivances by which not only the unwary multitude, but even many of the wiser of the Nation were imposed upon.

When they saw the croud of the Rable rolling from place to place, with hideous and insalting noise, demolishing and committing to flames, or ravaging whatsoever their insolent Leaders prompted them to: with an Alarm given in all great Towns forty Miles about *London*, and in very few dayes, not only through all the Northern Counties, but in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, of the general Massacre and Burning of Townes by the *Irish*: none can ever forget the distractions, or frame more heightened Ideas of confusion, then was then spread over the whole Nation. And all this has appear'd since, to be a pure Dutch Artifice, and the chief Actors of it, have since valued themselves on it, as a Master piece of their Politicks to fire and enrage the People, and impress on Protestants the greatest Affrightments possible at the danger they were in, or had so wonderfully escaped, which proved so effectual and successful to precipitate them to deliver up with so much speed, not only the Tower of *London* and Magazines, but all the Ports and Strong-holds of *England*, to the Prince, their great Deliverer, and at the same time to terrifie, and drive into lurking places, or out of the Kingdom, all the remains of the King's Army, or well-withers to him.

This success of the Prince, however obtained by great dissimulation and art, yet, was looked upon as something bordering upon a Mi-

racle,

racle, which wonderfully raised the expectations of all men, judging him to be endued with extraordinary Qualifications for the accomplishing some stupendious Work; so that we poor mortals thought something divine was dropt from Heaven to govern us.

It is no wonder therefore, that all men thus tossed betwixt Hope, and Fear, Passion, and Intrest, Duty, and Dispaire, were contented to take up with such expedients, as the Artificers of the designe had projected, and that so many concurred to huddle up a Government, such as in so great a Commotion came next to hand.

It was not then seen what a ghastly wound the Church of *England* recieved by her reputed preservation, in destroying the Supremacy, abandoning Allegiance, and renouncing passive Obedience, which her Champions had asserted as Primitive and Apostolick Doctrines.

It was not then thought upon that this Revolution would in so few Months Abolish *Episcopal* Government in *Scotland*, and bring even five of our Golden Candlesticks, and much greater number of Fellows of both our Universities, then had been expelled in *Magdalen* Colledge, and many truly conscientious eminent Divines under the severity of new Laws of Deprivation, for their steadiness to the true Principles of the Church of *England*, and the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom.

It was not then considered, how destructive it hath ever been to all Kingdoms, and especially to this, to alter the Laws and Constitutions of the *Monarchy*.

We had not leisure then to read the Histories of Kings, *Stephen's* or King *John's* Reigns, or those bloody Wars betwixt the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*; or cast our eyes back upon the dismal face of things in the eighth last years of King *Charles* the first.

We little thought to see any of the Royal Martyrs Judges have liberty to come to our new Court, or that a Grand-child should, without resentment, suffer his Grand-Father to be again traduced, and after so barbarous a Murder be calumniated and blackned in a Convention, who pretended to have a kindness for the royal Line and that Church whose Martyr he died, or that a Nephew should take off the conviction of those who were condemned for conspiring against his Uncle; or what will amaze all posterity that a Son-in-law, and Heir only in a remote entale should dethrone his Father, who never disoblighd him, and as much as in him lay force him to beg his Bread in a Foreign Land, and bastardize his own Wife and Sister in leaving them an Elective Reversion at the best.

It was not then considered what an entailed War was like to succeed even after the death of the King, betwixt the Prince of Wales and the issue of the Princesses which can have no termination, without restoring him to the Crown, to whom of right it doth belong.

The most zealous for our holy Religion could not foresee what unpresident'd scandalous, and unsanctified Actions were to be done by an Abdication.

They foresaw not the strength of *France*, nor what a Thorn *Ireland* would be in our side, or that the *Dutch* would rob us of our Trade, and that Transportation and Pestilential Diseases, would sweep away so many Thousands of our Sea-men and Souldiers, nor could divine that our Merchants should lose so many Millions by Storm and Surprise. They had no apprehensions that the Country should not onely be Fleeced by quarter and Taxes, but be reduced to a very Skeleton, and that Forreign Beare skins and Thrumme Caps should suck the marrow out of our Bones.

Few *Protestants* then saw, any thing forward; theirs Eyes were then all turned to gaze upon the monstrous figured Clouds, their heightened fancies had framed to shade the setting Son.

They would not see the King's recalling matters that had given most Jealousies, his gracious Inclinations and Readiness to have redressed all Grievance, and his full Intention to have concurred with a Free Parliament in settling all things which loyal Protestants could have wished, and all the Prince alledged for the causes of his expedition.

But these Royal Condescensions, or esse whatever the King would have done, did not answer the expectation of profitable Employments to the Confederates in this Action; and the Convention consisting of men chosen whilst Malice, and Enmity against King *James* was in the highest Ferment, and Fears and Jealousies of *Papery* and Arbitrary Government so continually inculcated.

It was no wonder such men so readily shook Hands with Loyalty, and having once drawn their Swords against this lawful King, cast away their Scabbards, and like men of desperate Fortunes cared not how they oppressed or involved their Country in War, hoping to find protection by their number, and the forreign Force the Prince had brought with him, and to enjoy all the places of trust, honour, and profit under a King of their own Creating.

But you and our noble Patriots have had fourteen Months time to see, & I hope condole the direful Effects of such Councils, and scriously

ously to consider the Deluge of Misery brought upon you and your Posterity by that Assembly.

You may remember that after the most dismal War against King Charles the first, the exile of his Son. And the unexpressible ruine of our Country, all the benefit we reaped was to see *Cromwell* the Usurper Govern with a Military Force and Arbitrary Power.

Then it was that, too late, all the Nobility and Gentry of *England* saw that they had no security either of their Lives, Estates or Properties, so long as they were not Govern'd by a lawful King, and it will be worthy your grave consideration, that you, and your Posterities are and ever will be under the same uncertainty, and slavery, while you keep out your lawful King, who is the only Spring-head, from whence all our Laws of your Properties are deriv'd.

At the time before mention'd, when the Nobility & Gentry of *England* had their Eyes open'd to see the endless Calamities they were involv'd in; the first step that was made towards the restoring of King *Charles* the second was a Vote that the Confessions of his Royal Father at the Ill of *Wighi* were sufficient grounds for a Redress of all Grievances, and the happy settlement of the distracted Nation.

If therefore you had a desire to save your Country from Ruin, and restore Peace and Plenty again, there are some Particulars which you ought in the very first entrance upon your Consultations to have enquired into, as matters of greatest moment; which not well determin'd, tender all your Ordinances of little benefit to the Publick.

First then, it become so august an Assembly to have caus'd the Prince's Declaration to have been read in the House, & by Paragraphs debated, not only to finde how many particulars in that were yeild'd to be dress'd by the King, but likewise to observe how notoriously the people were delud'd by it, and what confidence you ought to put in one that hath so manifestly violated it; & after such Examination, to have resolv'd upon a course whereby he might be oblig'd to stand to it.

Secondly, You ought to have canvass'd the business of Abdication; since while that Opinion is countenanced, all the Superstructure of Government will be built upon a rolling Sand.

By this time it is manifest even to the meanest Freeholder, that the King did not abdicate the Government. When those in whom he had the most reason to have confided in, if either the ties of Nature or Gratitude could have oblig'd them, and so great a part of his Army had so treacherously deserted him, how could it be expected he could think himself safe with such as he had no ways oblig'd to that degree

degree, especially when the most of the remains of his Forces gave daily insipition of their revolting; and notwithstanding the Proposals the King sent by three Noble Men to the Prince, each of which have since accepted of great honourable and profitable Employments under him, yet he advanced in such an Hostile manner, as the King was not in condition to oppose.

It is likewise fully known that before the King's coming from *Pertham*, he sent to the Prince to invite him to *St James's*, by the opportunity of which Neighbourhood he might have adjusted matters by Treaty and personal Conference, and when he return'd to *Whitchhall*, expressed much readiness to have settled matters by a free Parliament. But it is notoriously known, that the Night following his own Guards were removed, and the *Dutch* placed in their stead, and after twelve a Clock that Night he was visited with a Message to be gone from his Palace before ten the next day, as the favourablest thing would be yielded to, after it had been proposed in Council to send him to the Tower; and it is now too well known, who have more then once repented that it was not put in Execution.

All these things being considered, they must have a Faith greater then to remove Mountains, who can believe that he voluntarily relinquished his Government.

Yet it is upon this single presumption, that the Throne was declar'd vacant, which point being once over-ruled by the Junto it was necessary to find out some pretext of a Power, residing some where, that could not only give definitive sentence against the King, but create to themselves a new Ruler.

Therefore, *Thirdly*, it mightily concerned you to have debated the Position of the Sovereignty of the People, and the pretended original Contract, of which two I shall give some few touches; hoping you will thoroughly examine the mischievous Consequences of them. I shall begin with them in order.

1st. If the whole Bulk of the People be comprehended, then we may expect that the most numerous part will be the Mobile, who will change their Representatives or Kings every *May-Day* or *Midsummer-Moon*, or appoint as many different ones as there are Counties or places of Rendezvonz, or they may be so good natur'd as to have two Kings at *Brandford* of a time.

2^{dly}. If we take in the better sort of Free-holders only to Elect, then all the noisy liberty of the people in gross is gone; and before equal and just Representatives of these can be had, there must be

new Regulations through the whole Kingdom for the equal distribution of the Electors.

3^{dly}. It is necessary that such Electors by Indenture expressly limit their Attornies or Delegates, as to the matters they are to consult of: Otherwise it is but the setting up some hundreds of Arbitrary men, who without any check upon them may Garble their own Members, and so make themselves the Supreme Authority, I think the late Convention could not say they derived their power from the people any of these ways.

However, they have shew'd themselves much less Politicians than their Predecessors of 41. for being proud of the Power to be stil'd Make-Kings: They have chosen one that knows how to lay them aside when they had done his Job. And it is probable the improvement some were making of this Idol of the Peoples Power, was not the least Cause of the late Dissolution, for the honest *Quaker* gave not his Reason amiss, who in the City-Poll voted for the new Members, because he was for King *William*, who if he had liked the old ones, would have continued them.

As to the Original Contract, a Notion started for no other end, but to enable men chosen as before said, in tumultuous times, and without any regulation of Electors, to assume to themselves the power of Abdicating and creating Kings: It hath this common with that of the peoples Sovereign Power, that it opens a Gap to successive Usurpations. Who ever is subtille, ambitious, popular and daring, by the help of Male-contentts, and some treacherous Officers in the Militia, may easily influence Elections, and then a Representative of the same Kidney may suggest some Grievance in the preceeding Government, and Male-Administration, which being voted a breach of Trust and Forfeiture, (especially if such be backed with Tumultuous Petitions, or any Oppressive Taxes, inspire a *Maschetto*, or a *Captain Tom* of the *Bedlam-Rabble*) down goes the new Doge of the People.

To extricate your selves out of these *Labarinths*, you needed no more but the Clew of the Fundamental Laws of the Land, approv'd and confirm'd in all the peaceable Times of your Ancestors: In them you find no Foot-steps of these two last *Postulata*. It is those Laws will show you from whence you have your Power; and till that short, but Excellent Comment upon the 11th of *Henry the 7th* be answered, concerning a King *de facto & Jure*, I hope you will find your selves but weakly screen'd by any Authority of your Writs. But If there be any, who in despite of all our Laws, which are the only security of the

the Subjects Liberty and Property, will insist upon their derivation of their Power from the People: I desire they will take care they incur not a Prejudice to the people, in exercising more Power than they have given them; which I am sure the last Convention did: their Electors never designing to give them any such power to raise and abolish all the sacred Laws of the Land at once, neither can such escape the blackest Epithite of governing Arbitrarily, which is so destructive to the liberty of the Subject so much pretended.

These things being duly weighed, it was to have been hoped that you would have judged it a restraint upon your own Freedom, to be debarred the liberty of Re-examining every Article of the late Instrument of Government. You know that although the Protector Cromwell was so strict as to cause a Recognition to be sign'd by all the Members that entred the House, & secured by his *Janizaries* several that refused; yet after such Recognition taken, they debated from Paragraph to Paragraph the former Instrument, and fram'd their humble Petition and Advice: It was expected that you would have been as solicitous to preserve our ancient Laws of the Hereditary Monarchy, as these in that Age were to destroy them, unless you designed to restore a *Common-wealth*, or bring in a new sort of *Elective Monarchy*.

Surely the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy enjoyn'd to be taken by so many Acts of Parliament, are Laws that nothing but a true Act of Parliament can abrogate, you find the dispensing with any Law by *King James* was fixed upon him as one of the highest Crimes, and can you think it just and equitable that a power never before owned, by our Laws should totally vacate them. It behooves you to call to mind that heroick expression of your Noble Ancestors, so much applauded in all succeeding ages *nolumus leges Anglie mutare* it will be your honour and safety to stick to this.

You may find every where in the Statutes and Law Books that our lawful Kings come to their Crowns by *lawful Birth-right*; *lawful and undoubted Succession by Nature*, *God's Laws*, and the *Laws of the Land*, and that the Lords and Commons cannot assent in Parliament to any thing *that tends to the disherison of the King* whereto they are Sworn. I need not multiply Authorities. It were unpardonable to suspect a Person, so qualified as you are, should not know the Municipal Laws of your Country.

If these particulars had been weighed with that gravity and concern as was expected from you by all true *Englishmen*, Lovers of their Native Country, you would have added the Noblest Epithites to your Names,

Cathins
Case, Coke
4 Inst. fol.
14. 1. *Max.*
ria cap. 4.
1. *Eliz.*
cap. 1.
1. *Fic.* cap.
10.

Names, and have had peculiar marks of honour in all our Histories. I am sure even you your self set no great value upon those Nobles who opposed their lawful Kings, and opposed to themselves the very memories of the Barons of *Essex*, *Pembroke*, and *Salisbury*, of the Lords *Brooke*, *Grey of Groby*, *Wharton*, and *Faifan*, not to name *Cromwell*, *Bradshaw* and many others, will never be so dishonourable as the Barons of *Hertford*, *Southampton*, and *Lincolne*, the Lord *Essex*, *Langdale* and others who stuck firmly to their distressed King.

It is every where recorded in History what dreadful Calamities have befallen this Kingdom upon every breach of the *Legal* Succession, yet there never wanted pretexts of the publick *Weals* for them, when God knows Ambitious aspiring, Reveng or Covetousness were the first movers of such Revolutions. You see and feel the sad effects of this in one Year, yet this is but the beginning of evil.

The Dread of the Divine Avenger of Injustice, and wilful breakers of his Laws ought to terrifie even moral men, much more Christians from Committing Sins of the first class. Honour, Equity, and even Self-Interest ought to revive in us a sense of our duty, a Compassion upon our ruined Country, and the dreadful prospect of a growing War ought to affect us.

If the consideration of what I have now (with a Candor and Sincerity that becomes one who hath no other motive but Justice and his Countries good) laid down before you, make no Impression on you, I shall be silent. But you may remember that you have not wanted one that with no less certainty hath heretofore, and doth now Prognosticate the Misery of this once flourishing Kingdom then *Castandra* did that of our old Antecessors of *Troy*, unless we return to our Allegiance.

Postscript.

Sr, Having seen the Copy of a Letter, which an old Comrade of yours in the War of King *Charles* the first, sent you some while before the sitting of the Parliament, which I find you have suppressed. Knowing the good Intentions of the Gentleman for the benefit of our Country, I have presumed to impart it, giving it a new Title, and varying nothing of the Original, but in that I transfer the Advice, to a yet more timely, what was incumbent upon you to have done.

April 8. 1690.

I wish you would read, *The Lords Speech out of Doors*. *The Dissension discussed*. *The Grants*. *The first and second part of Passive Obedience*. *The Address to the Nobility, Clergy and Gentry of Scotland*. *A Letter to the Nobles of the Countie of Griuvances*. *The Petition to the Convention*. *The True-Prodigal*. *A Judiciall Inquiry*. *Repts. To the Honorable Commons*.

E. N. L.



